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IMMIGRATION TO THE SOUTHERN STATES

AT the present time a paper on immigration to the South must be a study of conditions and tendencies rather than of definite results.

Until the early 80's the southern people desired no immigration either from the North or from foreign countries. There were many reasons for this sentiment. Before the Civil war the agitation of the slavery question served to unite the southern people in a general dislike of outsiders; the war left behind it bitter feelings which made the immigration of desirable persons impossible; and the rule of the carpetbagger during Reconstruction increased the prejudice of the average southerner against men from the North. The former slaveholders—the old planting class—preferred negro labor to white; railroad companies and other employers of gang labor feared strikes and other complications if white workmen were brought in; and back of these concrete considerations there was a general desire to keep the southern white stock pure, with no admixture of foreign blood, and to hold fast to the old southern philosophy of living, which would have been disturbed by the advent of numbers of foreigners, strangers to the traditions and customs of the South.

On the other hand, northerners and foreigners had as little desire to go South as had the South to receive them. Foreign immigrants and northerners in search of homes passed the South by and went to the West, where they were welcomed. On the part of many home-seekers there was a dislike and fear of the black population, as constituting a social and economic danger; on the part of others there was a dislike of the whites as former slaveholders. The troubles of the Civil war and Reconstruction caused the better class of home-seekers to prefer the West. Land was cheaper in the West, or at least the immigrants thought so. Those persons from the North who went South from 1865 to 1870 expecting to make fortunes by planting cotton invariably failed, and their failure made capital dis-

trustful and business opinion hostile. Laborers and artisans were in demand in the mills and factories and on the railroads of the North. The main lines of the railways ran to the West, and each road had a very efficient immigration service. From the agents of these roads and from northern opinion the immigrants learned much about the advantages of the West and a good deal about the disadvantages of the South. When the South first began to invite immigration it was found that the southern states were regarded very unfavorably by immigrants. They had heard from unfriendly critics of the South that the climate was too hot for white men; that the water was bad and malarial fever common; that the southern whites were lazy and proud, living upon the toil of the black and believing that it was not honorable to engage in manual labor; and that both races were so lawless that it was not safe to live among them. There was a notion that negroes abounded everywhere in the South, that no place was free from them, and that any one who worked at manual labor, especially if he worked with a negro, would be socially ostracized. The schools and churches were said to be very poor; and some were afraid of mixed schools. The general opinion was that cotton was the only crop that could be grown. Accordingly foreign immigrants were hurried West, as soon as they arrived, by the immigration agents of the railroads, and later comers preferred to go where others of their kindred and nationality had gone before them.

The result was that the foreign element remained insignificant in the South. The census statistics for 1900 show that the entire South, including the old border states, had only about 620,000 inhabitants of foreign birth—six per cent of the foreign-born population of the United States. Michigan had as many foreign-born, New York three times as many. In five of the great producing states—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina—out of a total population of 8,830,424, of whom 4,122,540 were negroes, the foreign-born element numbered 44,996, or about as many as in Vermont, which had a total population of only 343,641.

If the exchange of population among the states be taken

into account, the disadvantageous results for the South are equally striking. Since the Civil war the South has sent to the North and West about 2,500,000 whites, and has received from all parts in return less than half as many. Georgia alone sent out to other states 412,000 and received 190,000, a net loss of 220,000. In 1900, 307,132 people born in Massachusetts were living in other states, but the loss was more than made up by the immigration of 1,262,257, of whom 415,933 were from other states and 846,324 from abroad. In the same year South Carolina had 234,062 of her sons and daughters living elsewhere, and had received in return only 60,744, of whom 5528 were foreign-born, a net loss of 173,328.

The lack of immigration has left the southern states thinly populated. Alabama has but 35 persons to the square mile; Arkansas, 24; Louisiana, 30; North Carolina, 39; South Carolina, 41; Florida, 9; Texas, 11. On the other hand, New York has 152; Illinois, 86; Ohio, 102; Pennsylvania, 140, and Massachusetts, 349. If South Carolina were as densely populated as Massachusetts, it would have 10,500,000 people.

Such statistics as those above, showing that the southern people are almost entirely native-born and that future generations have unlimited resources still to develop, have been until lately a source of pride. But in recent years, especially within the last ten years, there has been a gradual but marked change of sentiment in the South in regard to the desirability of immigration. The South now wants it and is working hard to get it. Many influences have operated to cause this change. The passions aroused by the Civil war and Reconstruction have somewhat subsided, and the whites feel free to attend to the development of their section. Eastern capital is now sympathetic, and the capitalists who have invested money in the South desire immigration in order to develop the country and make their investments pay. The resources of the South have scarcely been touched, and under the most favorable circumstances it will require many generations to develop them. There are millions of acres of cotton, cane, rice and tobacco lands that have never been cultivated. Louisiana alone has

19,000,000 acres of vacant land, out of a total of 26,000,000; and it is estimated that not more than one-eighth of the cotton lands of the South are in cultivation. The mineral resources of the South are almost unlimited; it has more timber than any other section of the United States; in every southern state there is water-power never yet used, and there are ideal situations for market-gardening on the largest scale. All these resources are undeveloped and will long remain so unless the population is increased by immigration.

The negro cannot furnish either in quality or in quantity the labor necessary to develop the South. By its lack of initiative and inventive genius the black race has acted as a hindrance to progress. Free negro agricultural labor has in most places, except the Yazoo Delta, proven to be a failure; the fertile lands of the black belt have never again reached the production of 1860; the better wages paid to the negro have simply enabled him to work less—three days a week instead of four. Yet the most fertile land of the South is still in the hands of the negroes, who do not equal in production the white farmers on the poorest land. In 1876 the whites of the cotton states, forming 55.8 per cent of the population, produced 40 per cent of the cotton; the blacks, forming 44.2 per cent of the population, made 60 per cent of the crop. In 1899 the whites, now constituting 59.1 per cent of the population, produced 60 per cent of the crop; the negroes, constituting 40.9 per cent, produced only 40 per cent. Every year the negro produces less, proportionately as well as actually, in agriculture. The educated blacks leave the farms, where they might do well, and turn to other occupations. Many of the best negro laborers have been carried north as strike breakers; others have deserted the fields for work in the mines and lumber camps or on the railroads; many have gone to the cities to earn a precarious living. Agricultural development in the black belt is at a standstill because of the worthlessness of the black and the difficulty of getting more white labor.

The progress of the South since the war has been almost wholly in the white districts. During the twenty years from 1880 to 1900 the white population of the South increased 57.3

per cent and the negro population 37.5 per cent. During the same period the total value of southern products increased 61.7 per cent, almost all in white counties. Since 1860 the total southern population has increased 60 per cent, while the value of products has increased 250 per cent, the increase being mainly in industries operated by whites. Great numbers of whites have been drawn from the farms into the mills and factories that have lately sprung up. Mr. D. A. Tompkins estimates that in North Carolina 100,000 whites have left the fields for other industries. In South Carolina a similar movement has taken place; and yet for a portion of the year 1904, one-third of the spindles in the state were idle on account of the lack of labor. Every branch of industry is calling for efficient labor which only whites can furnish, and the native whites are not numerous enough to supply the demand. The development of industry in the South has far outrun the increase of population. For example: in 1895, in southern mills, 862,838 bales of cotton were manufactured as against 2,083,839 bales in northern mills; in 1903, southern mills used 2,000,729 bales while northern mills used 1,967,635 bales. Commerce, business, manufacturing and railways have more than absorbed the increase of white population.

After its experience with negro labor the South now turns to the northern and foreign whites to assist in the development of the country. The younger southerner knows of the latent wealth of his country; he wants the profit from it. The negro has failed to assist him, and now he, unlike his father, the ex-slaveholder, is anxious to find a substitute for the negro. Many southerners have visited the North and observed the superiority of white labor. Northern men who have capital invested in the South have no patience with the negro. The railroad authorities know that satisfactory dividends cannot be expected until the country is more thickly settled and is developed by the varied industries which the white immigrant and the northern capitalist will bring. Some manufacturers have mills in New England and also in South Carolina. The future seems to be with South Carolina, and therefore they are friendly to immigration. With the present labor supply the

South has about reached the limit of cotton production though the demand for cotton is increasing. Consequently makers of cotton goods encourage immigration, because it means to them a more certain supply of cotton at a reasonable price. Likewise the cotton planters are interested in averting any danger of a cotton famine, for this would force Europe to grow cotton in Asia and Africa with peons and coolies as laborers, and such development would destroy the Southern monopoly of cotton growing. Improved methods among white farmers have resulted in a constantly increasing quantity of cotton produced per capita. To gather future large crops additional labor must be had, unless a cotton picker be invented. White immigration is looked forward to by some as a solution of the race problem. In parts of the country thousands of white farmers have moved away from their farms to villages and towns, because they do not feel safe with their wives and daughters in the midst of the black population. For these many reasons the South now wants white immigration.

And within the last few years northerners and foreigners have shown an increasing willingness to settle in the South. There are several influences back of this change of opinion in regard to the desirability of the South as a place in which to live. The Northwest is filling up with people and the cheap land is nearly all taken. This is shown by the rush of settlers to each Indian reservation thrown open to settlement, and by the fact that thousands of persons have had to cross over into Canada to find the cheap farms that they expected to find in the West. Prices of farm lands are high in the North and West and rents are in proportion, so that it is practically impossible for the average poor man to look forward to owning his home. Thanks to the efforts of the various southern immigration agencies, more is known about the South, and the unfriendly tales still told find some sceptical listeners. Into each southern state a few northerners have gone and have achieved success; and their example attracts kindred and friends. It is now becoming known that the climate is better in the South than in the Northwest; that lands are cheap and rents are low; that wherever a negro can work white men can do the same; that

work is deemed honorable; that those who do not like to live near negroes can find great stretches of country where there are only whites; that cotton, rice and tobacco are not the only crops that can be raised; and that there are openings for all kinds of new industries. In consequence the South has begun to attract from the North and West, and even from abroad, an immigration which, as compared with the movement or lack of movement in the past, is very respectable.

This immigration is solicited and encouraged by various agencies in the South: by the state governments, by the railroads, by real estate agents, and by numerous immigration societies, boards of trade and industrial associations. Each southern state has now a bureau of immigration, which in some cases is separately organized, in other cases is connected with the department of agriculture and industries. The efforts of the state authorities are directed not so much toward inducing immigration of laborers as toward securing a class of independent farmers who will do their own work, dispensing with the negro. The state immigration bureaus print and distribute throughout the North and West information of interest to prospective immigrants. Much of this literature is printed in German or in other foreign languages. At the St. Louis Exposition there were numerous state agents to call attention to the advantages of the undeveloped southern states. Speeches by southern members of Congress, welcoming immigration, published as extracts from the *Congressional Record*, are scattered broadcast over the North and West and are sent abroad. Florida sends out lists of state lands, maps of the attractive portions of the state, and beautifully illustrated pamphlets relating to cattle raising, lumbering, fruit and truck growing, fish and game, and winter resorts. Louisiana publishes free information concerning the climate, soil, resources, industries, schools and churches, and sends out lists, with descriptions and prices, of 6,000,000 acres of land for sale. The other southern states follow much the same methods. South Carolina officially encourages immigration of "white citizens of the United States, citizens of Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland and France, and all other foreigners of Saxon origin." This state does not yet officially encourage

immigration from southern Europe, although between the cotton growers and the rice planters there is a severe competition for labor. Most of the states have representatives in New York and in the West, whose business it is to disseminate information and secure immigration.

The state immigration bureaus have had fair success, though they have been hampered by insufficient appropriations. Louisiana has probably secured the best results. The authorities confine their work principally to the middle West, aiming to attract substantial farmers rather than laborers. Since 1900 many northern farmers have settled in northern Louisiana. In New Orleans, however, the work of the negro roustabouts who loaded and unloaded the steamers at the wharves became so unsatisfactory that whites from the West were brought in to supplant them. South Carolina has secured several settlements of Scotch, Canadians and Germans, and is now trying to secure Scandinavians. Several hundred of the latter have arranged to settle on one tract of land. Captain Lindberg, former Swedish consul at St. Louis and a veteran promoter of immigration, has undertaken to bring 1000 Scandinavian families to South Carolina. In Greenville, South Carolina, where mill labor has been very scarce since the high price of cotton drew native help back to the farms, the problem has been partially solved by the introduction of foreign labor into the mills. A number of factories have secured newly arrived Germans and Poles—three factories as many as twenty-five families each. These immigrants have proved to be satisfactory, both as workmen and as citizens. During the year 1904, the state bureau of South Carolina also settled 204 families of farmers. The authorities estimate that each good farmer is worth \$1000 to the state. In North Carolina the desire is to obtain farmers from England and Scotland, and a few families are now arriving each month. In Wilmington, where the negro laborers have proven so unreliable, the preference for north Europeans has given way before necessity, and Italians are being brought in to furnish more efficient labor. Texas has secured colonies of northerners, of Germans and of Italians, and smaller numbers of Japanese rice farmers. Mississippi reports an encouraging

influx of substantial northern farmers (principally from Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas) and of Italian cotton farmers. Alabama has received many northerners, especially in the industries, many Italians also, and enough Germans to Germanize four of the sixty-six counties. In north Alabama whites are displacing negro miners. To Virginia have come some Swedes and Germans, and many farmers from the Northwest. Several counties in the state are gradually passing into the hands of the immigrants. To Hanover county have come 200 families from the West; and in that county industry has been revolutionized, and the native tenants have now learned to "hustle." Maryland secured 4000 very desirable immigrants in one year at an expense of only \$15,000. Other southern states have had more or less success in turning toward the South streamlets from the great tide of immigration.

The state authorities have been greatly aided by hundreds of immigration and development societies. Every commercial and industrial body acts also as an immigration society. In Louisiana alone there are more than one hundred; one of them has 700,000 acres of land for sale. The southern industrial associations have recently been planning to bring about a visit from the British Cotton Spinners' Association, believing that a view of the South by the people who are interested in cotton production would tend to make sentiment favorable to immigration. The Shreveport Progressive League secured several factories last year and sold to twenty families of newcomers more than 10,000 acres of land. The Memphis Industrial League was instrumental in founding, during 1904, twenty new industrial establishments, the value of which to the city is estimated at \$65,745,000. Cities offer special inducements to newcomers. An Oklahoma town advertises as one of its attractions that its population of 14,000 includes only 150 negroes, and that separate schools are provided for the latter. Other towns state that immigration of blacks is not encouraged, and many of them emphasize the separate school feature. Newspapers issue special homeseeker's editions for distribution by state authorities, real estate agents and railroads. Trade magazines have been useful in calling the attention of business

men to the opportunities afforded by the undeveloped resources of the South. The most influential journal of this kind in the United States, *The Manufacturers' Record*, has for many years been urging immigration as a partial solution of the economic troubles of the South. The real estate agents of the West are coming to the South as a new field of labor and are bringing with them western methods and experience. They usually work in connection with the railroads. Some real estate agents bring periodically, at their own expense, responsible men from the West who will report to their neighbors upon the desirability of the country. One Tennessee firm has made money by bringing a party down from the Northwest every two weeks. Many of these excursionists have returned to stay in Tennessee.

The "colony" plan has also brought desirable immigrants to the South. Every few days the newspapers publish accounts of the location of colonies of farmers from the North or from abroad. Land companies in the middle West buy large tracts of land in the South and induce colonies to settle upon these purchases. Dunkards sell their high-priced little farms in the West and go south to purchase larger ones. Other religious and socialistic organizations have found homes in the southern states. Some of the best known colonies are: Fitzgerald, Georgia, settled from Indiana; Dudley, Georgia, from Indiana and Ohio; Fairhope, Alabama, from Iowa; Cullman and adjoining colonies in Alabama, by Germans; Independence, Louisiana, by Italians. A branch colony from Fitzgerald is being founded on St. Mary's River near the Florida line, and several thousand northern people expect to follow Mr. Fitzgerald to this new Mecca of homeseekers. In Florida there are many small towns in which the majority of the inhabitants are from the North. The Japanese government recently sent an agent to investigate conditions in the South and to report upon the availability of that section for settlement. A colony of Japanese agricultural students has been established in Florida and another in Texas. The object is to experiment with silk, cotton, rice, tobacco and fruits. A colony of fifty families has secured 67,000 acres of land in Dade

county, Florida. If results are favorable, more Japanese are to be expected. A colony of Scandinavians has been located at Thorsby, Alabama. In Lauderdale county, Alabama, a German colony purchased land at \$10 to \$15 per acre; their land now commands \$50 to \$60 per acre. Three colonies of Dunkards from Indiana, numbering 800 families, settled during 1904 upon 100,000 acres of land in northern Texas. Around nearly every southern city are growing up colonies of northern, German or Italian market gardeners. They come only after they have carefully investigated conditions. Reports sent or brought to other sections by successful colonists are gradually removing baseless prejudices. A Swede who strayed South several years ago returned to the West on a visit. He states that he was welcomed as if he had been lost. His friends had an idea, he said, that the South was beyond the limits of civilization.

But the most potent factors in the immigration movement are the railroads. Each important railroad company has hundreds of thousands of acres of land for sale and wishes to see industries developed along its lines. Until within the last few years the north and south lines have not offered special rates to homeseekers except in colonies. Now, on the first and third Tuesdays in each month, special homeseekers' rates are offered on every railroad east of the Rocky Mountains that runs into the South or Southwest. A twenty-day ticket, sold for one-half the regular price of a round-trip ticket, allows the holder to stop off at every station and gives the prospective immigrant opportunities to look about for a location. These excursions have proved a great success. The Union Station at St. Louis is crowded every other Tuesday with men from the Northwest bound to the South and Southwest. On the night of September 15, 1903, the Iron Mountain road carried out of St. Louis within two hours six special trains with three thousand homeseekers. Hundreds of immigration agents are employed in the West and Northwest by southern railroads. For example: The Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain system has three hundred such agents; the Southern Pacific has six hundred agents in the middle West; the Nashville, Chattanooga

and St. Louis has one thousand agents in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Ohio and Wisconsin. Some of these agents are veterans who helped to fill up the West and are now using the same arts to people the South. As inducements to immigrants they offer cheap land, low rents, several crops a year, mild climate, fertile soil, plenty of timber, separate schools for the races and light taxes. The railroads cannot afford to deceive new comers; they are working for the future, for permanent settlements and for increasing settlements. When possible, several representative westerners are sent on passes over the lines to see the land and report to their neighbors. When drought or flood injures the crops in the Northwest, the immigration agent sees to it that the disgusted farmers learn of the advantages of the country along his road in the South. Perhaps he finds a former northwesterner and sends him to his old home on a visit to tell of the country where he lives. Settlers who are already in the South write back and urge their friends to come. The railroads do not expect great returns at first. They proceed on the principle that their best course is to do so well for the first comers that these will send for their relatives and friends.

Believing that the North and West must be educated as to the possibilities of the South, the railroads send out all kinds of literature, including their own, that of the state, and that of immigration societies and real estate agents. Each road has its immigration newspaper, which is widely distributed in the United States, in Canada and in Europe.¹

On the whole, the roads of the Southeast have had more

¹ The Rock Island system publishes *The Western Trail*; the Louisville and Nashville, *North and South*; the Iron Mountain, *The Arkansas Homestead*; the Southern Railway, *The Southern Field*; the Seaboard Air Line, *The Seaboard Magazine*; the Florida East Coast Line, *The Homeseeker*, etc.

Occasionally the railroad literature takes the form of verse, sent out by the bushel. For the following specimen the Iron Mountain is responsible:

“ Forests with game, rivers with fish abound,
Rich vegetation covers all the ground
Spontaneously.
A land of plenty, liberty and law,
Such is the matchless state of ARKANSAS,
Go there and see.”

difficulties to contend with than those of the Southwest. However, the Southern Railway settled 1100 families along its line in 1902, and in 1903 about 2000 families were located on 2,270,018 acres. This road is now reaping the benefits of an intelligent campaign for immigration from the West. Its many small bodies of immigrants at widely separated points have been serviceable in quieting opposition and in causing others to come. In January, 1905, this railway was in correspondence with 35,000 persons who desired to purchase from one acre to several thousand. The Alabama Great Southern road has found that many westerners like to lease land and experiment for a year or two before purchasing. For several years it has been making an average of a 1000 leases a year. Lately, however, the number of leases is decreasing and the number of sales increasing. The Norfolk and Western, which recently began to offer inducements to immigration, now settles from ten to fifty families a month along its lines. Old plantations and improvements are sold to them at cheap rates. The Atlantic Coast Line, in 1903, settled 650 families of fruit growers in Florida and 500 families in Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas, besides placing several important industries. The Louisville and Nashville reports the sale, in 1903, of 95,702 acres of farm lands and 255,048 acres of mineral and timber lands. Along this road eighty-seven new industrial establishments were set up by newcomers from thirty-one states—principally from Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana. The other roads of the Southeast have made similar records.

In the Southwest a dozen colonies have been settled on the lands of the Illinois Central, and several other colonies are in process of establishment. Several million acres of land have been sold to homeseekers along this road. In 1904 it settled 1200 Italians, forty per cent of whom became farmers. In Mississippi a colony of Danes was established in the business of dairying. In Louisiana sixty-four Hungarian families were located as market gardeners. Each family bought from twenty to sixty acres of land. A German colony was established in Mississippi and a Swedish colony in Louisiana. In 1904 the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis road reported three times

as many immigrants as in 1903, and twenty-five times as many requests for information. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas reported 1300 homeseekers per month, thirty-five per cent of whom located. Along this line the truck farms increased in size and value sixty-three per cent in 1904. In addition there was an influx of capital and a notable development of industries. The Kansas City Southern reports that on a select ten-mile strip along its line the population in 1904 was 504,962 as against 304,326 in 1900. Of this increase 116,061 was in the urban population and 84,575 in the rural. The effectiveness of home-seekers' excursions is well illustrated by the results attained in 1904 by the Frisco system. Out of a body of homeseekers numbering 8132, the system located 1508 on the first trip, selling them 164,008 acres of land. A farmer on this line is estimated to be worth \$300 a year to the railroad company. The foreign representatives at the St. Louis Exposition were taken by the Frisco system on an observation tour through the Southwest for the purpose of showing the resources of that section. The Japanese were particularly interested in Texas as a rice-growing country. Colonies from Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska have settled along the lines of the Rock Island system. On the lines of the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain system 10,000 newcomers have recently found homes, 2000 within the state of Arkansas. The price of land along this road advanced ten to twenty per cent in one year. One small station in the home-seekers' country in Arkansas shipped \$75,000 worth of eggs last season, besides vegetables, fruits and poultry. The six hundred agents of the Southern Pacific sold, in a few months in 1903, 2,000,000 acres of land, and have been selling to Westerners since that date at the rate of 100,000 acres per month. Since 1894 this road has sold between Corpus Christi and New Orleans 3,000,000 acres of land, of which 800,000 acres were rice land, to 75,000 settlers from the Northwest. Col. S. F. B. Morse, the head of the immigration department, a veteran of western immigration, has carried more than 25,000 farmers to Texas. This road has also established colonies of Italians, Japanese and "Bohemians"¹ along its line as rice farmers.

¹ The term "Bohemians" is applied to a miscellaneous assortment of nationalities.

Before the Russian war broke out it had an agent at Kobe, Japan. As an index to the development of this section of the Southwest may be mentioned Crowley in southwest Louisiana. Twenty years ago the place was considered barren and worthless. Land sold for twenty-five cents an acre. A station was established which did not pay expenses. Westerners were persuaded to come, and now there are 7000 people in the town, a dozen rice mills, and 25,000 western farmers, besides the southerners in the country around. In 1902, 13,000 carloads of rice were shipped from Crowley. Land is now worth \$30 to \$50 per acre. At another Louisiana station the total receipts in 1883 were \$875; after immigration, in 1903, the receipts for milk tickets alone in one month amounted to \$987.

In connection with the efforts of the railroads to attract immigration from abroad should be mentioned the plan of Commissioner-General Sargent for distributing newly-arrived immigrants. In November, 1904, at a meeting in Birmingham of the immigration agents of the southern railways, a committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Sargent in regard to securing better facilities for receiving immigrants at southern ports. Sargent, however, proposed to establish at Ellis Island, New York city, an information bureau where immigrants might get impartial accounts of the attractions of every section of the country. For several reasons, the southerners interested in immigration have not favored Mr. Sargent's plan. It would involve a discontinuance of advertising abroad and would make necessary a certain amount of government control over the distribution of immigrants. It was feared that the proposed bureau of information would be employed primarily for the purpose of relieving the congested cities of the North with slight regard for the needs of the South. The South has trouble enough in its present race problem, and it decidedly objects to being made the government dumping-ground for undesirable immigrants. It does not want the lower-class foreigners who have swarmed into the northern cities; it wants the same sort of people who settled so much of the West. It is safe to say that no plan involving federal regulation of the distribution of immigrants will be acceptable to the southern states.

The newcomers from the western states and from western Europe are not mere laborers. They work for themselves on their own holdings. In those parts of the South where unskilled labor is wanted to supplement the work of the blacks, such immigration will not solve the problem. The black belt planter cannot rely upon the labor of the negroes; there are plenty of them, but each year they become less efficient. Two years ago there was a significant demand from many quarters of the black belt for Chinese laborers. One planter complained that he had land sufficient to produce 1000 bales of cotton, but labor enough for only 300. He thought that the exclusion laws could be repealed if the southern states should advocate this policy. It is certain, however, that the South will not tolerate the introduction of large numbers of Chinese or Japanese for fear of possible race complications. The solution seems to be to induce Italians to come in as farm laborers, with the prospect of becoming landowners on a small scale. They have come in larger numbers than other foreigners, and, much to the surprise of all, they have proved successful as laborers on cotton and sugar plantations. The great lumbering companies also are employing them. The north Italian is preferred, but the principal immigration is from southern Italy, Sicily, and the old Papal states. The numbers are constantly increasing. In Louisiana, in 1900, there were 17,000 Italians; in 1904, there were 30,000. In 1904, it was estimated that more than 100,000 Italian farm laborers were working in the southern states of the Mississippi valley. Numbers come from Sicily or from the North to work during the cane-cutting season, and then return to the North or to Sicily. Between New Orleans and Baton Rouge the Italian laborer has largely displaced the negro, and the same is true of many other localities. In Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Mississippi there are numbers of Italian farmers and truckers also, notably in the vicinity of Bryan, Houston, Dallas, Galveston, San Antonio, Memphis, Greenville and Friars Point. In Texas they produce rice and cotton; in Mississippi, cotton; in other states they produce various crops. The Italian authorities have investigated conditions in the South, and so has the Society for the Protection of Italian

Immigrants. Some Italian newspapers in America, such as *Il Vesuvio* in Philadelphia, favor the settling of Italians in the South, where they have opportunities to become independent small farmers. The southern planters fear no troubles from agricultural immigrants. A line of steamers has recently been put in operation between New Orleans and Italy. In late years, Italians have frequently arrived in New Orleans by ship-loads—2134 in one week in 1903. The demand from planters for labor on cane and cotton plantations remained, however, in excess of the supply. In 1904 an agent of the White Star line was sent to Naples to arrange for the colonization of 10,000 families along a new railroad controlled by the Rock Island system, between Corpus Christi and Brownsville.

Side by side with negroes, the Italians have proved their superiority as farm laborers. Mr. Dougherty, a planter of Baton Rouge who employs about forty Italian families, states that they are peaceable and more industrious than the negro; that they quickly learn to do unfamiliar work, treat stock better and cultivate their crops more intelligently; that they are more economical and do not rush into debt nor spend their earnings extravagantly. Other planters report that they are good farmers; that they have model farms and well-kept houses and premises; and that they raise everything at home.¹ Near Greenville, Mississippi, is an Italian colony engaged in cotton

¹ Since this article was written, Mr. A. H. Stone, a planter of Greenville, Mississippi, has published a paper on the "Italian Cotton Grower" in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, January, 1905. He states that "the matter has long since passed the experimental stage," and that the "white man has become the negro's problem." In regard to negro and Italian labor, he says: "It is always difficult to get a negro to plant and properly cultivate the outer edges of his field—the extreme ends of his rows, his ditch banks, etc. The Italian is so jealous of the use of every foot for which he pays rent that he will cultivate with a hoe places too small to be worked with a plough, and derive a revenue from spots to which a negro would not give a moment's thought. I have seen them cultivate right down to the water's edge the banks of bayous that had never before been touched by the plough. I have seen them walk through their fields and search out every skipped place in every row and carefully put in seed, to secure a perfect stand. I have seen them make more cotton per acre than the negro on the adjoining cut, gather it from two to four weeks earlier, and then put in the extra time earning money by picking in the negro's field." Compare this with "the spectacle of broken-down fences, patchwork outhouses, half-cultivated fields and garden-spots rank with weeds," where the negro works.

farming. Each family on twenty acres usually clears on each crop \$200 to \$300 above expenses. In 1903 twenty families returned to Italy, each family with \$400 to \$800. Some of them have purchased good homes, intending to remain.

One of the earliest experiments with Italian agricultural labor was in Chicot county, Arkansas, on the Austin Corbin plantation. In 1895, Corbin, a New Yorker, sent an agent to Italy and secured from the former Papal states 500 Italian families who were located on an island in the Mississippi river. The colony was called Sunnyside. The colonists were well treated, the soil was fertile, a school and a church were provided; but the death of Corbin put an end to the sanitary improvements that were being made, and disease appeared. The colony nearly broke up; some of the people formed three other small colonies in Missouri and Arkansas; others went to Louisiana, Mississippi or Alabama, or back to Italy. In 1897, only forty families were left. Since then conditions have improved. About 2000 acres are in cultivation by Italians, whose numbers are increased every year by immigration. The manager states that they are better cotton growers than the negro, but that they have not yet developed the land-owning instinct; they expect to return to Italy. There is no friction between Italian and black; but there is no race mixture. In 1903, the owners of the Corbin plantation advanced to their tenants \$4000 to \$5000 to send for relatives and friends. The entire loan was repaid out of the fall crop. One man returned to Italy with \$8000 in cash, never having worked over thirty acres. He left his family, with supplies for a year, to work his land while he was gone. It was hoped that the thrifty example of the Italians would be an incentive to effort by the negro, but no such result was observed.

At Independence, Louisiana, in 1904, 275 carloads of strawberries, valued at \$500,000, were produced by Italian laborers. These colonists have begun to purchase little farms, have good homes and some money in the banks. The younger ones do not expect to return to Italy. A tract of 1600 acres of land in this community sold in 1879 for \$1600; in 1904, 200 acres of the same tract sold for \$10,400. In the same community other

pieces of land have risen in value from \$1 to \$50 per acre within two years. Many planters have substituted Italians for negroes as tenants. The former are not criminal, are prompt to pay debts, and have improved morally as well as materially since they arrived in America. The Italians are mainly from Venice. The community was developed under the supervision of the Illinois Central railroad.

In spite of the inducements offered the number of immigrants is still relatively small. It will be of interest to examine into the causes of the prejudice against the South as a place to live in. In the first place, public opinion in the North is still unfavorable to the South, and this affects the views of home-seekers. Immigration is thought by some to lessen the opportunities for the negro, which is true. The advice given to southerners against the immigration of whites is somewhat curious: the South is warned against such dangers as "the scum of Europe," the tendency of the whites to form labor combinations, a "congested city" problem caused by crowding negroes off the farms, a negro-Latin race conflict, and so on. The South is advised to hold fast to the docile, tractable negro, who works for low wages, never organizes, never strikes, seldom buys land, and who is so well suited to the climate. In short, all the slavery arguments in favor of negro labor are repeated. The prediction is made that the South will be dissatisfied with white labor.

The *Manufacturers' Record* asserts that any strong effort to induce immigration to the South causes a great deal of misrepresentation in northern and foreign journals. The so-called "Ogden movement" has undoubtedly, though unintentionally, done much to misrepresent actual conditions by exaggerating the poverty, illiteracy, intolerance and crime of the South. Unfortunate, also, in this movement is the fact that it is supported most loudly by a few newspapers and individuals in the North that have never been noted for friendly feelings toward things southern. Another manifestation of northern interest in southern problems is found in the agitation against child labor in southern mills. Here manufacturers, philanthropists and labor agitators can meet on common ground. There

is really no reliable information in regard to the numbers and ages of children employed in southern mills, but it is assumed that there is more child labor than in the northern mills. An outcome of the agitation has been a demand, pushed by a limited number of northern manufacturers, that Congress pass uniform hour and age laws and thus prevent unfair southern competition. Coincident with this demand were the publication of unfavorable accounts of conditions in Carolina mines, written by Marie Van Vorst, and assistance given by Irene Ashby McFadyen, an English agitator, in a crusade in the South against child labor. Miss McFadyen was well received, and something might have resulted from the movement had it not been discovered that she represented the American Federation of Labor. It is feared in some quarters that an extensive immigration to North and South Carolina would make these states formidable competitors to New England in cotton manufacturing. In the matter of immigration, therefore, as in the question of child labor and in that of education, southern manufacturing interests are extremely suspicious of outside interest. Of the serious effect of this agitation on immigration there can be no doubt. The state agent of South Carolina in England and Scotland found that the Van Vorst and McFadyen literature had been widely circulated in order to induce labor not to migrate to the southern mills. The labor organizations there generally opposed emigration to the South. The agent states that he tried to get the newspapers to publish favorable articles about the South, but was sometimes told that "the South had such a bad reputation that they were afraid to publish anything which would tend to induce emigrants to go there." The editors said that they had read many articles about the bad condition of labor in the South, and that never having heard them denied, they supposed them to be true.

The lynching of Italians at New Orleans some years ago has been constantly used since then as an argument against every kind of migration southwards. In particular it has checked the coming of Italians, and prominent Italian newspapers in America have fostered the prejudice against the South. On June 7, 1904, *Die Gartenlaube* of Berlin printed a typical warn-

ing to German immigrants who were thinking of going to Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi or Louisiana, states that have been trying to secure German settlers. This warning was based on information sent from the United States with regard to the swamps, malaria, bad water, excessive heat and bad climate of those states. An old method of condemning the South is still sometimes used: a map is shown which has the entire South printed black and labelled "black belt." The advice accompanying is designed to cause the homeseekers to avoid that section, which is described as a "plague-infested district." There is no doubt that the negro is a bugbear to prospective white settlers. Labor organizations have not been friendly to southern immigration, because of the presence of cheap negro labor and because labor organizations have not yet thriven among the southern whites. There is a widespread belief that the new constitutions of some of the southern states are used to get whites as well as blacks out of politics. It is certain that many people in the North and West who are Republicans in politics (and most of those who come South are Republicans) feel uncertain about the treatment which they are likely to receive in the South. During the presidential campaign of 1904 immigration fell off considerably; after the election it again increased. The *New York Journal of Commerce* recently declared, in discussing the slow migration to the South, that the "stories about the treatment of negroes, the condition of poor whites, the uncertainty of legal protection, social prejudice, political intolerance and the lack of adequate school facilities are not without effect in diverting immigration from the South." Behind all this is, of course, the fundamental fact of the presence of the negro.

There is still some sentiment in the South itself that deters immigration. Some fear cheap labor in the mills, others fear that behind the immigration movement are the foreign manufacturing interests desiring to keep down the price of cotton. A Georgia "mossback" opposed a state bureau of immigration because, he said, it would benefit the railroads; and a Texan objected that "the people now flocking to Texas do not agree with the old settlers, morally, religiously and politically."

There is no doubt that heavy immigration will result in political changes and re-alignments. The experience of West Virginia during the past ten years proves this point.

In conclusion, it may be said that immigration to the South seldom reaches the black belt. There seems to be a dislike of contact with the negro. Where new comers enter the black belt they go in colonies, settle near the railroad and dispense with the negro. Much of the immigration does not increase the population of a community; it simply displaces the negro. The new settlers, not at first knowing how to cultivate cotton, fortunately never become wholly addicted to the cotton-raising habit, but produce a variety of crops. They send to market vegetables, fruit, poultry, eggs and dairy products. Large farms are not common. Improved implements and up-to-date methods are employed, and the native whites profit by the example.

Compared with the great volume of immigration to the West and North, the numbers that go South are insignificant; but compared with the numbers that went South ten years and more ago, the recent movement is very important. There is plenty of vacant land; and the southerners say that if a million settlers have come and are satisfied, there is no reason why other millions may not come.

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